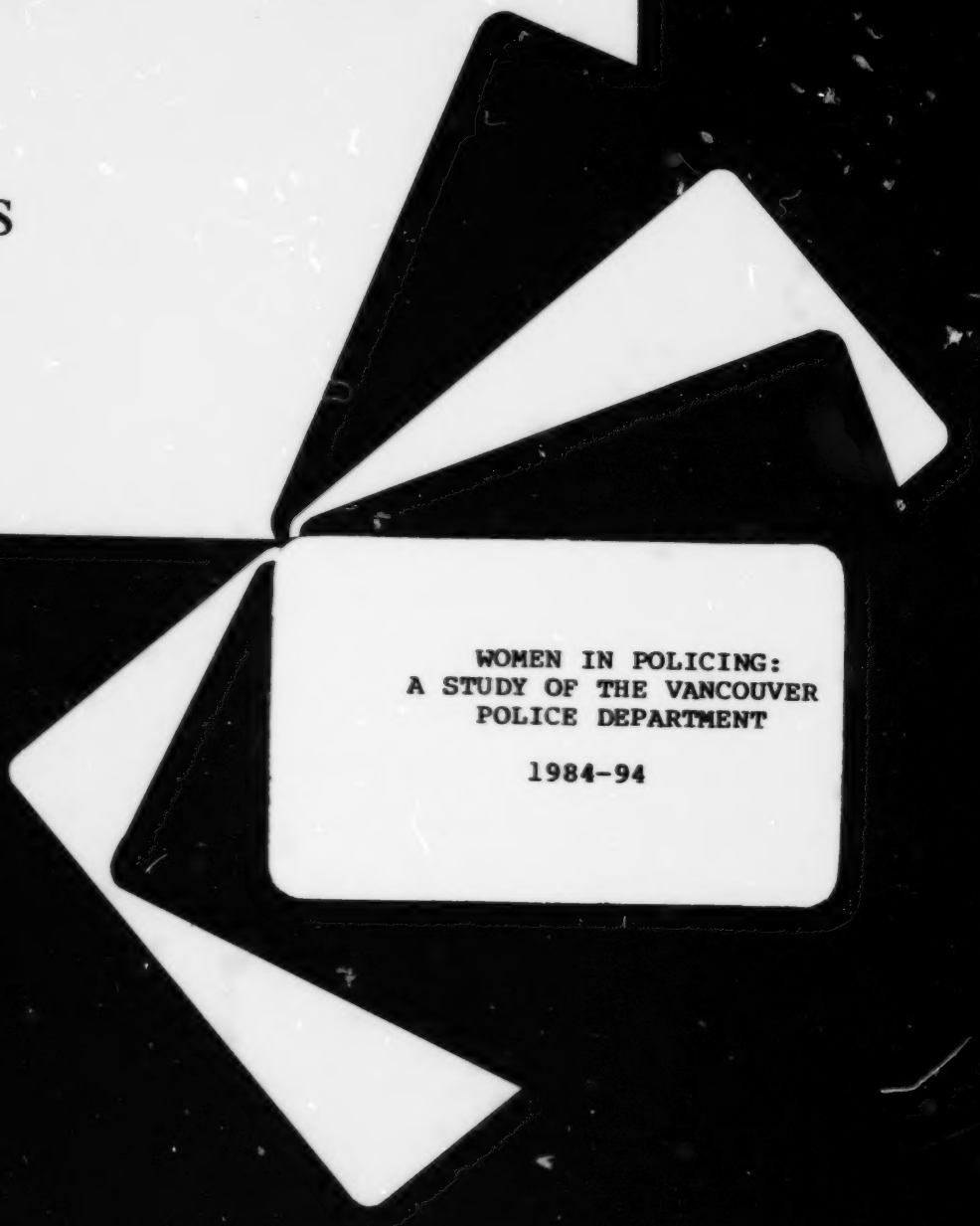
Programs Branch User Report



WOMEN IN POLICING: A STUDY OF THE VANCOUVER POLICE DEPARTMENT

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CHAPTER 1

TRENDS IN THE HIRING OF FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

Women in the R.C.M.P.

The first Canadian policewomen were hired in Vancouver in 1912 and Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton followed suit in 1913, 1917 and 1919 respectively (Owings, 1969). Women had been employed by the R.C.M.P. for many years as civilian members who were subject to the rules and regulations of the Force but who did not have police powers and did not wear uniforms. The R.C.M.P. began preliminary work looking at the feasibility of employing women members in 1970, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the status of women strongly recommended that such a policy be implemented. After several more years of study and discussion, a troop of women began training in September, 1974 and graduated on March 3, 1975. Since 1975 about 10 percent of new recruits have been female, and the current strength is about 240, or about 1.6 percent.

Tables 1-1 and 1-2 show the rate of increase in the number of female officers in Canada from 1960-1977 and the percentage of female officers employed in the major cities.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Females in Canadian Police Departments
for Selected Years from 1960-1977*

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	PERCENT FEMALES
1960	13,617	167	1.2
1965	13,038	189	1.4
1970	16,748	189	1.1
1971	18,088	190	1.0
1972	18,704	189	1.0
1973	20,588	208	1.0
1974	21,423	260	1.2
1975	22,296	369	1.7
1976	24,321	397	1.6
1977	24,711	433	1.8

*NOTE: Figures are for Canadian cities and districts over 50,000 population

TABLE 2

Percentage of Female Police Officers Employed in Cities and Districts over 100,000 Population in 1977

	MALES	FEMALES	PERCENT FEMALES
Burnaby (RCMP)	201	4	2.0
Calgary	889	27	3.0
Durham Regional (Ont.)	325	7	2.2
Edmonton	851	37	4.3
Halifax	275	2	.7
Halton Regional (Ont.)	265	4	1.5
Hamilton-Wentworth	694	10	1.4
Laval	338	0	0.0
London	313	7	2.2
Longueil	186	4	2.2
Montreal	5077	7	.1
Niagara Regional (Ont.)	562	15	2.7
Ottawa	583	6	1.0
Peel Regional (Ont.)	553	33	6.0
Quebec	429	4	.9
Regina	276	8	2.9
Saint John	188	7	3.7
Saskatoon	247	4	1.6
Sudbury Regional (Ont.)	209	7	3.3
Surrey (RCMP)	168	4	2.4
Thunder Bay	175	2	1.1
Toronto	5640	96	1.7
Vancouver	913	55	6.0
Waterloo Regional	429	8	1.9
Windsor	381	5	1.3
Winnipeg	1011	24	2.4
York Regional (Ont.)	302	2	.7

The Future of Women in Policing

In 1977, Parliament passd the Canadian Human Rights Act. Since similar legislation exists in each of the provinces, human rights legislation has now been extended to cover all organizations coming under Federal and Provincial jurisdiction. The various acts prohibit employers from discriminating on the grounds of sex, unless there is a bonafide occupational requirement for such discrimination. This applies both to hiring and to the provision of opportunities for those who already are members of an organization. While human rights commissions still must decide whether a bonafide occupational requirement exists for restricting the employment of women in policing or in the assignment of women to certain kinds of police work, court decisions in the United States and Britain, and the actions of provincial human rights commissions suggest that such an exemption will not be granted.

While legislation has been, and will continue to be, a major reason for the increased numbers of women police there are other factors involved as well. First of all, while there is some disagreement as to the number of women departments should employ and to the type of role in which they are used, virtually everyone feels that females have a contribution to make to policing. They are particularly valuable for such jobs as searching females without having to bring them into the station, undercover work, and intelligence work such as surveillance. Secondly, as the age structure of our population changes, the pool of eligible candidates for police work will diminish. The rapid decline in the birthrate following the baby boom means that the average age of the

Canadian population will increase significantly. Robert Brown, a statistician from the University of Waterloo, has calculated that the average growth rate in the Canadian labour force attributable to people 15-24 increased by 3.7 percent from 1960 to 1965; by 4.8 percent from 1965 to 1970; and 5.2 percent from 1970 to 1975. Since 1975 this rate has been dropping and will reach minus 2.2 percent by 1990 (Brown, 1979). During the 1980's there will be about 20 percent fewer men reaching recruitment age. Because of its lower birth rate, this problem will be particularly acute in Quebec, where the pool of potential recruits will drop by as much as 40 percent. Martin (1979) has looked at the projected demands for police recruits into the 1980's and has shown that even at current rates of labor force entry, police departments will have a difficult time attracting a sufficient number of male recruits. Martin's projection show a need for an additional eight percent of current strength each year from now until 1982.

The recruiting problem, which seems far off during a time when unemployment rates are high, can be rather dramatically illustrated by looking at an organization which has already been affected by a shortage of manpower—the U.S. Military. The pool of eligible recruits has been shrinking so rapidly that Cookson (1980) reports that by the late 1980's the U.S. Military will have to recruit between 30-50 percent of all fit and qualified young males to meet its manpower needs.

The fact that manpower demands are increasing while the pool of potential recruits is declining means that there will be a great deal

of competition for young workers and that police departments will not be in as favorable a hiring position as they have been in for the past few years. Unless salaries are significantly increased, or recruiting standards drastically changed, departments will have to hire more females. Hiring problems may be even more severe if private security companies, which have expanded rapidly during the past decade to the extent that there are now more private than public police in North America, decide to become more competitive with police departments in their recruitment.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

In order to provide background material for this research, a literature review was begun in 1978. The report, Women in Policing: A Review, was completed in 1979. Research instruments were developed during the period January - April, 1979 and data collection was carried out between May - September, 1979. The principal investigator was in Vancouver for six weeks during that period, and two research associates were in Vancouver for approximately four months. Figure 1 lists the information sources which were used in the research. While the data will not be discussed here, a similar study was also carried out with the Vancouver City Police. The R.C.M.P. project also included a survey of male and female members stationed in rural areas, but these data will be presented in a later report.

The study is one of the most detailed ever carried out in the area of women in policing. In comparison with other women in policing studies, the research involved more extensive interviewing of police personnel than any of the American studies. Also, none of the earlier studies dealt with dispatchers or analyzed dispatch records. However, two of the earlier studies, which were carried out in New York City and in Philadephia, did much more extensive structured observation. Each of

these studies involved over 3,000 hours of ride-along. Another type of information which has been collected in some previous studies is an assessment of public reaction to female members. A community survey was not included in this research.

FIGURE 1

MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

NAME OF INSTRUMENT	SAMPLE SIZE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Male Questionnaire	200 randomly-selected male members	A questionnaire was mailed to 200 male members. The survey asked a number of background and general attitudinal questions as well as questions concerning attitudes toward female members.
Structured Observation	Approximately 90 hours of ride-along were carried out	Using a standard form, observers took detailed notes concerning what happened during 54 incidents of police-citizen interaction.
Official's Interview and Survey	33 supervisors of female members	All interviews were carried out by the principal investigator. In addition, a questionnaire was left with each respondent to be completed and returned by mail.
Dispatcher Interviews	7 dispatchers	Interviews were carried out with all dispatchers on one shift at Burnaby concerning their dispatch practices.
Female Interviews	40 female members	A female research associate interviewed every female member on the force. In addition, each female officer was asked to complete a questionnaire and return it by mail.
Matched Male Interview	40 male members	A male research associate interviewed a male matched with each female member. In addition, each matched male was asked to complete a questionnaire and return it by mail.
Dispatch Records	1 month of dispatch records	Using computerized records of calls for service, males and females were compared on such variables as types of calls, amount of back-up dispatched, etc.

NAME OF INSTRUMENT	SAMPLE SIZE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Record Monitoring	40 females 40 matched males	Analysis of personnel records, and department ratings.

CHAPTER 3

PERFORMANCE DATA

As those familiar with research on policing will know, the subject of assessing the performance of a police department or of an individual officer is a very controversial one (Engstad and Lioy, 1980). In the present context, we would like to know if female officers perform their duties as effectively as do male officers. This would be a relatively simple task if there was agreement on the manner in which we would measure the male officers' performance. For example, if it was agreed that an effective police officer was one who made a lot of arrests, then we would simply have to compare the number of arrests made by males and by females in order to assess their relative effectiveness. However, the critic would argue that this comparison might be misleading. Leaving aside methodological problems such as the comparability of assignments between the two groups and the possibility that one or other of the groups will get credit for arrests regardless of who makes them, it can be argued that number of arrests may be a very poor measure of police effectiveness. For example, in a domestic dispute an arrest may be the result of ineffective police performance if it means that the officer has provoked a confrontation with one of the civilians rather than calming him/her down. Further, arrests may be made in situations where they are not justified and where there is little likelihood of a successful prosecution.

Similar problems exist with other performance measures. Departmental ratings of individual officers reflect the attitudes of supervisors rather than directly measuring performance. Looking at records of commendations and complaints gives only a very selective picture of an officer's abilities and disabilities, since it isn't likely that all incidents of outstandingly good or bad performance are brought to the attention of the department. Even structured observation, which looks directly at an officer's behavior, involves a comparison of the performance of females with the standard set by males without questioning whether the behavior of male officers necessarily represents good policing (Sichel, et al; 1978)

While traditional performance measures may not be totally adequate, they are available and will continue to be used until more appropriate measures are available. In this section, we will look at supervisors' assessments, which are the only performance indicator available in this study, and will discuss research done in other departments using several other measures.

Supervisor's Evaluations

Performance evaluations have typically rated women lower than men, but the differences have been small. For instance, in Washington the ratings given to women averaged lower than those given to comparison men, but the overall ratings for both groups indicated that nearly all officers were performing at a satisfactory level. Field trainers in the

California Highway Patrol gave essentially the same ratings to males and females. This pattern continued following the completion of field training, though males tended to improve over time to a greater extent than did females. In Newton and in St. Louis County, males and females received almost identical ratings. This was also the case in the Vancouver Police Department.

In the R.C.M.P., periodic personnel evaluations are carried out annually on all members. Performance evaluation data were made available for all male and female members on general duty assignments in 1978. The evaluations consist of subjective and objective ratings for general duty policing and for traffic enforcement duties. The maximum possible score on the objective (diagnostic forced-choice) portion of the evaluation is 40, while the maximum possible score on the subjective (scaled behavioral statements) portion is 35. For general duty policing the mean for women on the objective assessment was 20.0 and for the force as a whole was 21.7 (the latter figure is inclusive of women, but since 114 women and 3837 men are included in the ratings, the results are not substantially affected by the inclusion of women). For the subjective portion of the evaluation, the scores were 24.28 and 25.68 respectively. For personnel assigned to traffic enforcement duties, the objective scores were 25.1 for women (N=12) and 24.98 for men (N=868), and the subjective scores were 25.42 and 25.50 respectively. These scores indicate little difference between supervisors' assessments of male and female members.

Personnel evaluations, given in percentages, were obtained for the 40 male and 40 female members who were matched for this study. The average percentage rating for males was 74.3 percent and for females 72.9 percent. Again, there appears to be little difference in supervisors' assessments of male and female members.

Arrests

Comparison of the number of arrests made by males and females has been made in several of the earlier women in policing studies. Bloch and Anderson (1974) reported that female officers in Washington made fewer arrests and gave fewer traffic citations than did the comparison males. There was no difference in the likelihood of arrests resulting in convictions. One reason for the difference in arrest rates was that women were more often given other assignments and spent less time on patrol than did the men. However, a significant difference still remained when the analysis was limited to those women who were engaged in regular patrol duties.

In his study of female officers in St. Louis County, Sherman (1975) also found that women made fewer arrests and fewer car stops. However, they gave more traffic citations than did comparison males. An evaluation conducted of the California Highway Patrol (California Highway Patrol, 1976) found that the performance of male and female traffic officers was similar, with men having somewhat higher levels of activity. Males made 13 percent more arrests than females and were involved

in 15 percent more total enforcement actions. The evaluators did not feel that this difference was indicative of lower performance levels since supervisors rated women well on activity levels and since when activity levels were looked at while controlling for beat type, many of the women had higher activity levels than men.

In the New York City study conducted by Sichel et al, females had significantly lower rates of arrest than did their male counterparts. However, in this study both females and comparison males normally worked with more experienced male officers and there is some evidence that females were less likely to receive credit for arrests than were the matched males.

Contrary to these studies, research in Denver (Bartlett and Rosenblum, 1977) and in Newton, Massachusetts (Kizziah and Morris, 1977) found that men and women made equal numbers of arrests. In Denver, the women made as many arrests as men for both dispatcher-initiated and officer-initiated calls. In Newton, it was found that male and female officers made the same average number of arrests per day and filed the same number of charges per day. Women recorded twice as many felony charges per day, while men made twice as many traffic arrests.

Arrest data from my study of the Vancouver Police Department are shown in Table 3-1. These data relate to criminal charges and do not include Government Liquor Act arrests, Motor Vehicle Act arrests, or persons checked. Personnel on extended sick leave or maternity leave

TABLE 3-1

Average Number of Persons Arrested
by Male and Female Officers in Vancouver Police Department *
During July-September, 1979 and March - May, 1980 **

		Males	Females
1979	July	2.25	2.31
	August	2.41	2.0
	September	2.0	2.30
1980	March	2.13	1.82
	April	2.21	1.49
	May	2.71	2.46

* Officers have been excluded who were working in the jail, in communications, in school liason or who were on sick leave or maternity leave for an extended period.

** Arrests relate to criminal charges and do not include Government Liquor Act arrests, Motor Vehicle Act arrests or persons checked.

have been excluded for the period of their absence, as have officers assigned to the jail, communications, and school liaison. Duties performed by the remaining male and female officers are similar. While males do show a higher level of arrests, the difference is small. Women made more arrests than men for two of the six months and during most other months their performance was close to that of males. Thus the difference in arrest performance does not appear to be substantial.

Traffic Accidents

Data on traffic accidents were also obtained from personnel records. These data show the matched females were less likely than the matched males to be involved in traffic accidents. The 40 males were involved in 31 accidents and the 40 females in 26. However, 57.7 percent of the females' accidents were attributed to carelessness compared with 48.4 percent of the males' accidents. Thus females were less likely to be involved in accidents, but were involved in a higher percentage of accidents due to carelessness than were the males.

Sick Leave and Attrition

Time lost due to sickness and to job-related injuries has been studied elsewhere. For instance, in Washington it was found that while women were more likely to be assigned to light duties because of injuries than were men, they did not have a higher absentee rate than men because of these injuries. The California Highway Patrol found that the injury rate during training was higher for females and that the cost per injury was also greater. In both New York City and in Denver it was found that females took more sick time than did males.

This was also the case in the Vancouver Police Department. During the period July-September 1979, female officers averaged 2.7 days of sick leave (excluding maternity leave) while males averaged 2.0 days. If we exclude 1 female and 1 male who took extended sick leave during

this period, the averages drop to 2.2 days for females and .7 days for males.

On the other hand, the number of job-related injuries and the time lost due to these injuries was less for females than for males. The males had received a total of 16 job-related injuries since appointment which were sufficiently serious to be recorded in their personnel files. The average number of days lost due to these injuries was 12.2. For women, the corresponding figures were 13 injuries and an average of 11.6 days lost.

No information is available for absentee rates for male and female R.C.M.P. members. However, attrition rates are available. The rate of attrition is substantially higher for females - 16.3 percent of females employed after September, 1975 had left the force by August, 1978 compared with 8.7 percent of the males. Similar differences have been reported by other state police forces such as the California Highway Patrol. On the other hand, studies carried out in a number of city police departments including Vancouver have found attrition rates to be about the same for males and females. Research is currently underway which may determine why the rates for R.C.M.P. females are so high.

CHAPTER 4

Dispatcher Interview and Dispatch Records

Interviews were carried out with seven dispatchers selected from one shift. The interviews were quite brief, and focused on dispatch practices involving various combinations of male and female officers. Dispatchers were first asked about the usual screening practices involving a call. None of the respondents mentioned that the sex of the officer(s) dispatched was part of this process, though two respondents later indicated that they preferred to send a male and female to domestic disputes and females to calls involving female victims. Three of the dispatchers preferred sending males to fight calls. The remainder of the questions focused on practices in determining whether back-up should be assigned.

Table 1 indicates that the sex of the officer makes little difference in the decision to send back-up. The most relevant variable is whether a one- or two-person car is initially dispatched to a call.* For one-person cars, the decision to send back-up was identical for officers of both sexes. The pattern was similar for two-person cars,

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* While the R.C.M.P. normally patrol in one-person cars, two officers will be assigned to a car while one of the officers is undergoing field training.

with a slightly higher likelihood of back-up being dispatched when one man-one woman or two-woman cars were sent to calls involving violence or arguments. When asked if they were more likely to send back-up for certain types of teams of officers, two of the dispatchers said that they were more likely to dispatch a second car when female officers were initially sent to a call involving the possibility of violence.

TABLE 4-1

Percentage of Dispatchers Who Would Send Back-up for Various Types of Calls

(N=7)

	Type of Car				
	1 Man	1 Woman	2 Men	1 Man 1 Woman	2 Women
Disorderly or Drunk Persons	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
Theft, Burglary (in Progress)	85.7	85.7	71.4	71.4	71.4
Sick, Injured or Auto Accident	42.9	42.9	28.6	28.6	28.6
Robbery (in Progress)	100.0	100.0	85.7	85.7	85.7
Public Fights	100.0	100.0	42.9	71.4	85.7
Auto Damage or Theft (in Progress)	57.1	57.1	42.9	42.9	42.9
Argument in or Near Residence (2 Persons)	100.0	100.0	28.6	28.6	28.6

When asked which type of team requested back-up most often, two of the seven dispatchers who responded said that one-man cars were most likely to call for back-up, while none felt that one-woman cars were disproportionately likely to call for assistance.

The final section of the dispatchers' survey asked about their perceptions of the likelihood of unofficial back-up arriving at calls. The responses indicated that this was a relatively common occurrence, particularly in cases where the assigned officer was alone. They also suggested that the likelihood of such back-up was greater if the officer was female. Not surprisingly, unofficial back-up was most often provided for males and females if the call was of a violent nature.

In order to look at actual dispatch practices, computer records of calls dispatched were also analyzed. Data were analyzed for the period of June 1 - June 30, 1979 for the Burnaby Detachment. Tables 4-2 and 4-3 show the results of this analysis. According to the figures presented in Table 4-2, there is little difference in the seriousness of calls to which the different types of units are assigned. One-man units are less likely to be assigned to Priority three calls, but are more likely to be sent to Priority four calls than other types of units. Both of these categories involve routine calls, so the differences are not felt to be important. The data are consistent with the responses of the dispatchers that sex was not a factor in screening the initial assignment of calls.

TABLE 4-2

Percentage of Priority 1, 2, 3, and 4[1] Calls Assigned to Different Types of Units During June 1-30, 1979.

	Priority 1	Priority 2	Priority 3	Priority 4
1 Woman	0.0	18.9	77.4	3.7
	(0)	(36)	(147)	(7)
1 Man	0.0	18.1	66.1	15.8
	(1)	(655)	(2386)	(570)

[1] Priority 1 - Emergency: Serious crime in progress, where prompt response is necessary to prevent further violation, protect life and limb or apprehend the culprit in the act.

Priority 2 - Urgent: Minor offences in progress and/or serious occurrences which have already taken place but immediate attention is required to contribute to a successful conclusion.

Priority 3 - Some Urgency: Occurrences which have already taken place and immediate attention will not contribute to its successful conclusion: Incidents where physical evidence will remain for a reasonable period.

Priority 4 - Records Purposes: Any occurrence or complaint which does not require a unit to be dispatched, but which should be recorded for the information of the patrol or detachment concerned.

TABLE 4-3

Average Number of Back-up Units Sent to Calls Answered by Different Types of Units During March 1-7, 1979.

	Priority 1	Priority 2	Priority 3	Priority 4
1 Woman	0.0 (0)	2.4 (36)	1.1 (147)	0.0 (7)
1 Man	4.0 (1)	2.2 (1655)	0.9 (2384)	0.005 (570)

Table 4-3 also supports the earlier finding that dispatchers did not typically assign back-up according to the sex of the officers initially assigned the call. In fact, the actual practice is more equal than the dispatchers' responses would suggest. There was more back-up assigned to one-woman cars, but the differences were small.

In sum, while there are some differences in dispatch practices depending on the sex of the assigned officer, these differences are not great. Male and female officers are assigned to similar types of calls and the decision of whether or not to assign back-up is more a function of the type of call than of the sex of the responding officer.

CHAPTER 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE MEMBERS

Attitudes of Male Officers

One of the major problems faced by women police officers is the attitude of their male co-workers. This fact has been noted by many observers, one of whom has stated that "the only trouble with women in policing is men in policing" (Lehtinen, 1976:55). As this quotation suggests, male officers are typically less than enthusiastic about expanding the role of women to include jobs such as general patrol duty. The attitudes of men may in fact be the greatest obstacle facing the move to expand the role of women in policing.

Studies have confirmed the reluctance of male officers to accept female police. In their study of the Washington department, Bloch and Anderson found that policemen did not feel that women were as capable as men of performing patrol duties. They were particularly concerned about the ability of women to handle disorderly males. Since some have suggested that such negative attitudes will be reduced as more of the men have had a chance to see women on the job, it was a bit surprising to note that patrolmen who worked in districts where women were assigned were even more negative toward the women than were men from other districts where there were no women, and that these negative attitudes did not change significantly over a one-year period.

In his study of St. Louis County Police, Sherman (1975) also found that a majority of male officers had negative attitudes toward the females. However, in this study the attitudes of the men became a bit more favorable by the end of the six-month period during which the study was conducted.

The attitudes of male officers were also studied by the California Highway Patrol (1976). All uniformed officers in areas to which women had been assigned were surveyed before women entered the field, and again one year later. The male officers gave the females low ratings on both surveys. Most felt that women could not perform the traffic officer's job nearly as well as males. This feeling was particularly strong for tasks involving danger or the need for physical strength. There was an improvement in attitudes toward female officers during the year in which they were working in the field, but officers who had personal professional contact with the female officers had less favorable attitudes toward female officers than did other males. Male officers also rated the performance of females much less favorably than the performance of males.

Negative attitudes were also expressed by male officers in the Newton Police Department (Kizziah and Morris, 1977). In a survey taken when women were first hired, the male officers were asked to rate the performance of male and female officers on a number of tasks. For almost all of these tasks, the women were rated much lower than were men of equal experience. Women were rated higher only on the

item of questioning a rape victim and were rated about the same as men only for arresting prostitutes and writing reports.

Male attitudes were much the same on a second survey completed over two and one-half years later. While there were some minor changes on individual items, the male officers still did not think that women could perform nearly as well as could males and did not appear to be very supportive of the women in policing program. Subsequent interviews showed that the men felt women were too weak and not aggressive enough to handle patrol work. One important exception to these negative attitudes was the fact that men who had worked closely with female officers were the most positive in their attitudes. Several even expressed the view that there were no differences in the abilities of male and female officers. This suggests that those males who do continue to resist women in policing may be reacting more to their image of what the job is like than to the actual performance of the women, though these positive findings are limited to one department.

Most of the research which has been done on women police in Canada has also shown the prevalence of negative male attitudes. In Whetstone's Alberta survey (1978), the male respondents did not feel that women performed as well as men. Laronde (n.d.) carried out a survey of 30 male and 30 female members of the RCMP, and found that men did not feel that women could carry out all aspects of the police job as well as men. A more recent survey by Hylton et al. (1979) of

members of the Regina Police Department showed a more positive response, with 2/3 of the members saying that it didn't make any difference if they worked with a male or a female.

Results of the Vancouver City Police study were consistent with most of the American studies. About one-half of the officers surveyed felt that it was a good idea to have women doing patrol duties, while one-third felt it was not a good idea and the remainder were undecided. When women and men were rated in terms of their perceived ability to perform a number of police tasks, the men rated themselves more highly than they did female officers. The differences were greatest for situations which involved strength or the possible need for the use of force. Similar results were obtained when males and females were rated on a number of personal traits related to the ability to do police work. One rather interesting exception to the negative views expressed toward females by male officers was found in a sub-study which was done with men who had extensive experience working with female partners. In some cases, these males had worked as partners with a female officer for as long as two years. The attitudes of this group were almost as favorable as were the attitudes of the female officers themselves. The fact that this group has a relatively positive attitude toward the capabilities of female officers is important, since they are the ones who are the most familiar with the womens' abilities.

While the attitudes of male officers have been well-documented, less attention has been paid to the reasons why men dislike the

idea of patrolling with women. The literature suggests at least three reasons why women are not accepted. First of all, male officers feel that the image of the police profession will suffer as a result of hiring females. Laronde found this to be a major source of dissatisfaction among the RCMP officers he surveyed. 38 percent of the males in his sample felt that public esteem for the Force had suffered because of the hiring of women. This view is illustrated by a patrolman interviewed by Milton who complained that "the job has already too much of a social worker image; it's a man's job; let's not degrade it by adding more women" (1972:24). Sherman (1975) also found that many of the men felt that the public would simply not accept women patrol officers. This view is contradicted by citizen surveys discussed elsewhere (Linden and Minch, 1980) which show that the attitudes of the public and the image of the police are not harmed by the employment of larger numbers of women. In fact, there is some evidence that contact with female officers leads to a more favorable attitude toward the police.

A second reason is the feeling that women are not committed to policing as a career. It is felt that women will only stay on the job until they find a husband and have children. Because of this it is felt that women will not have the same commitment to doing a good job as will males. Laronde's study indicated that his respondents share this view. 62 percent of his male respondents felt that women viewed the RCMP as a temporary or short-term situation rather than as a long-term career.

A third major reason for opposing the integration of women into patrol duties is the fear that women will not be able to cope with the violence which is believed to be an important part of police work. The abilities of female officers in this area have been met with a good deal of skepticism, and this has been a major factor in limiting or refusing women the chance to perform general patrol duties. For instance, Conrad and Glorioso (1975) studied a group of Maryland State Police who expressed concern that women would not be able to defend themselves and that male officers would have to worry about protecting them. In a study of recruits at the Michigan State Police Training Academy it was found that male recruits were relatively supportive of the academic and technical abilities of female officers, but felt that female officers couldn't perform the physical aspects of the job as well as their male counterparts (Charles, 1978).

Attitudes of Lower Mainland R.C.M.P. Members

The lower mainland data also show that a substantial proportion of male members does not look favorably upon female members, and particularly object to women being assigned to general patrol duties. In the analysis of police attitudes toward female members, data will be presented from four surveys: the mail questionnaire which was sent to 200 randomly selected male constables; the interviews and questionnaires given to all female members; and the interviews

and questionnaires given to the matched males. In addition, some material from the supervisors' questionnaire will also be presented.

TABLE 5-1

Do you think it is a good idea to have women as a regular part of the patrol force?

	Yes	Undecided	No
Male Survey	47.4	21.6	31.0
Matched Males	55.0	20.0	25.0
Females	100.0	0	0

The attitudes of the officers surveyed are shown in Table 5-1. The attitudes of the matched males toward having women performing general patrol duties are similar to those of the men surveyed in the mail questionnaire and illustrate the degree of dissatisfaction with the policy of assigning women to patrol duties. While all the tables will not be shown here, the same pattern is true of a number of other measures of attitudes toward female officers. These questions include items dealing with perception of community attitudes toward women on patrol; assessment of the percentage of males and females who

are highly motivated toward their work; reaction of spouse to the possibility of working with a partner of the opposite sex; the effect that increasing the percentage of female officers to 50 percent would have on the job and on the image of the police force; and a series of questions dealing with the respondents' perceptions of the likely outcome of several scenarios involving male/female teams answering potentially dangerous calls.

Two other sets of measures of attitudes toward female officers are shown in Tables 5-2 and 5-3. The first of these sets of questions asked each group of respondents to estimate what percentage of male and female officers with two years' experience on the force would be able to handle each situation satisfactorily. Looking first of all at the ratings given to male officers, there is a high degree of consistency among the four groups of rates, though females tend to give men lower ratings than do the other three groups. There is a great deal more inconsistency in the ratings of female officers. Not surprisingly, the women rated themselves the most positively. In fact, they rated themselves as performing better than the men on eight of the eleven tasks. On average, they rated females six percent higher than they did males. Looking at the average differences in ratings for males and females for each item, the next most positive group were the supervisors (average difference of five percent in favor of males) followed by the respondents to the mail survey and finally the matched males, with an average difference of six percent and seven percent respectively. Overall, women were rated as performing three of the tasks better than males;

TABLE 5-2

PERCENT[a] OF MEMBERS WITH TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE BELIEVED "SATISFACTORY" AT PATROL SKILLS

SKILL	SEX OF MEMBERS	GROUP GIVING RATING			
		Supervisors (N = 35)	Matched Females (N = 40)	Matched Males (N = 40)	Male Survey (N = 173)
Dispersing Noisy Juveniles	Women	75	76	74	70
	Men	80	77	82	81
Handling a Down and Out Drunk	Women	65	73	61	61
	Men	94	81	92	88
Handling Disorderly Males	Women	58	67	52	49
	Men	80	73	81	78
Handling Traffic Accidents	Women	77	81	74	76
	Men	82	80	80	80
Questioning a Rape Victim	Women	69	77	70	72
	Men	53	45	47	46
Cruising Around and Observing	Women	78	83	78	77
	Men	82	80	80	82
Handling Threatening Situations	Women	48	65	53	49
	Men	65	62	63	59
Handling Disorderly Females	Women	70	80	76	69
	Men	71	55	71	71
Writing Reports	Women	71	75	80	74
	Men	63	62	73	66
Settling Family Disputes	Women	72	73	70	67
	Men	67	62	70	66
Getting Information at Crime scenes	Women	69	73	73	68
	Men	69	70	73	68

[a] The percent of members rated "Satisfactory" was indicated on the questionnaire by placing a mark on a line labelled 0% at the left end, 50% in the middle, and 100% on the right end. Answers were coded into eleven categories (0-10) and average scores were computed into equivalent percents.

TABLE 5-3

PERCENT OF MEMBERS WITH TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE SEEN AS HAVING SELECTED WORK-RELATED TRAITS

TRAIT	SEX OF MEMBERS	GROUP GIVING RATING			
		Supervisors (N = 35)	Matched Females (N = 40)	Matched Males (N = 40)	Male Survey (N = 173)
Practical Intelligence	Women	60	72	66	62
	Men	70	73	74	71
Integrity	Women	78	75	73	71
	Men	82	73	78	76
Problem Confrontation	Women	54	67	50	53
	Men	72	77	78	75
Tolerance of Stress	Women	54	70	57	54
	Men	75	70	74	72
Ability to Learn	Women	81	83	81	79
	Men	78	79	78	77
Initiative	Women	60	70	59	58
	Men	71	72	75	72
Job Knowledge	Women	68	73	73	69
	Men	71	75	75	72
Decisiveness	Women	60	68	63	59
	Men	75	74	76	72
Observational Skills	Women	71	77	72	72
	Men	77	75	74	75
Communication Skills	Women	76	81	71	73
	Men	72	70	75	73
Interpersonal Sensitivity	Women	75	82	79	72
	Men	70	62	63	66
Adherence to Authority	Women	72	75	79	72
	Men	76	67	68	70
Personal Impact	Women	62	72	61	59
	Men	72	69	75	73
Independence	Women	61	73	61	59
	Men	74	73	75	73
Physically Strong	Women	43	50	31	36
	Men	82	81	80	79

questioning a rape victim; writing reports; and settling family disputes. On five of the tasks, the ratings favored males, but the differences between the sexes was relatively small: dispersing noisy juveniles; handling traffic accidents; cruising around observing; handling disorderly females; and getting information at crime scenes. There were substantial differences in ratings for the final three tasks: handling a down and out drunk; handling disorderly males; and handling threatening situations. These last three are all situations involving strength or the possible need for the use of force, and it is in these areas that males are most often critical of females.

Table 5-3 shows the result of another set of measures of the respondents' views of the abilities of females. In this question, respondents were asked to estimate what percent of male and female members with two years of experience have each of a number of traits. The traits listed were those which were assessed by a job analysis report done for the B.C. Police Commission as being relevant to the police constable's role. An additional item, physical strength, which was not included in the job analysis, was added to the questionnaire. For these items, once again there is a very high degree of consistency in the rating of males. For many of the items, the responses given by the different groups of raters is virtually identical. However, there is less consensus concerning the assessment of female officers. On the average, the females rate themselves about the same as they do the males and put themselves as high or higher than the males on nine of fifteen dimensions. The three groups of male respondents were quite consistent.

Supervisors rated males an average of nine percent higher and the matched males and respondents to the mail survey both rated men an average of 10 percent higher. Women were rated most highly compared to men on the dimensions of integrity, ability to learn, job knowledge, communication skills, interpersonal sensitivity, and adherence to authority, while men's ratings exceed those of the females by the greatest amount on physical strength, problem confrontation, tolerance of stress, personal impact, independence, decisiveness, and initiative.

To summarize, the results of this research as well as research carried out in the U.S. indicates that the attitudes of male officers toward the policy of assigning women to patrol duties are somewhat negative. In the interviews which we carried out with the matched males it was found that while the majority approve of assigning women to general duties, many of the men would like to see the women limited to special squads or given only those calls that have traditionally been viewed as appropriate for females; i.e., juveniles, questioning rape victims, searching females, etc. A few even suggest that the force should not hire additional females.

CHAPTER 6

SURVEY OF MATCHED MALES AND FE'ALES

A major part of this research involved an interview and mail questionnaire study of all female R.C.M.P. members in Lower Mainland detachments. Each of these females was matched with a male member who went through training at about the same time as the female and who ranked at about the same level at graduation from Depot. Each female and matched male was interviewed by an interviewer of the same sex as the respondent. Following the interview, which typically lasted an hour, the member was given a questionnaire which was to be completed and mailed back to the researchers.

There were a number of differences between the two groups in terms of some of the demographic variables which were studied. As would be expected, female officers were smaller than males. The average height and weight of the females was 5'7" and 141 pounds, while the males averaged 5'11" and 173 pounds. Fifty-three percent of the males were married, compared with 23 percent of the females. The average ages were almost the same. Males and females came from similar class backgrounds and had similar educational qualifications.

Job Satisfaction

The study used a large number of different measures of job satisfaction. While there were some differences, both males and females seemed about equally satisfied with police work. While these items are too numerous to discuss in detail, a few examples will be presented. Males are more likely to feel that police work gives them the chance to do what they do best, while females are more likely than males to rate policing more highly than other types of work. Females are slightly more likely to respond that the job has lived up to their expectations, and that if they were to choose careers again they would still decide to become police officers. Table 6-1 shows that while males are more likely to indicate that they like police work very much female officers are also quite positive about the job.[1] When asked to give reasons why they liked the job, women and men generally gave similar answers. The most frequent responses were the type of work done by the police and the opportunity to deal with the public. Men were more likely to mention independence, job security and the opportunity of meeting a different segment of society, while women were more likely to cite the opportunity to work with juveniles as a desirable feature of the job. With the exception of the importance men gave to independence, none of these differences were large. There was also similarity in responses to a question asking what they disliked about policing. The most common responses were the unpleasant duties that are part of the job, negative attitudes toward the criminal justice system, the restrictions on one's social life, and negative contact with the public. These responses were

fairly evenly distributed among males and females. The only differences of any substance between the two groups was that some of the females expressed dissatisfaction with negative attitudes displayed toward female officers by their co-workers and males were more dissatisfied by the bureaucracy in the force.

TABLE 6-1

Degree to Which Male and Female Members Enjoy Police work
(in Percent)

	Like it Very Much	Like it Fairly Well	Indifferent	Don't Like Very Much	Don't Like At All
Males	67.5 (27)	25.0 (10)	5.0 (2)	2.5 (1)	0.0 (0)
Females	55.9 (19)	41.2 (14)	0.0 (0)	2.9 (1)	0.0 (0)

The similar lever of job satisfaction expressed by males and females is also reflected in their responses to a question asking about their morale. As shown in Table 6-2 responses to a question involving self-rated morale are almost identical.

TABLE 6-2

Self-Rating of Morale by Male and Female Members (in Percent)

	Extremely Low	Low	Satisfactory	High	Extremely High
Males	5.0 (2)	5.0 (2)	47.5 (19)	40.0 (16)	2.5 (1)
Females	0.0 (0)	9.1 (3)	48.5 (16)	39.4 (13)	3.0 (1)

One area in which women are not as content is that of obtaining recognition for their accomplishments. While several questions relate to this, the point is made in Table 6-3 which shows the responses to a question asking which sex had to work harder to gain recognition in the department. The table shows that 57.5 percent of the women (and 20.5 percent of the men) feel that women have to work harder than men do in order to get credit for their work. These women felt that their accomplishments weren't recognized, but that any mistakes they made were known to everybody. One respondent commented that she felt like she was working in a fish bowl with everybody watching and waiting for her to do something wrong. There was a feeling that women were a minority group who still had to prove themselves in the eyes of their male peers. The respondents implied that women were assumed to be incompetent until they proved otherwise.

TABLE 6-3

Responses of Male and Female Members to Question of Whether Male or Females have to Work Harder to Get Recognition

		Who Must Work Harder		
		Males	Females	Both the Same
Sex of Respondent	Male	25.6 (10)	20.5 (8)	53.8 (21)
	Female	5.0 (2)	57.5 (23)	37.5 (15)

Career Commitment

In this study, as well as in previous research one objection to female officers by those who oppose their hiring has been that they are not committed to a career in policing and have only joined the force to get a husband. The data we have collected indicate that there are some differences in the degree to which men and women are committed to a career in policing. For instance, attrition rates in the R.C.M.P. are about twice as high for males as for females. This contrasts with data collected for city police departments in both Canada and the U.S. which indicate that males and females have similar rates of attrition. However, state police forces such as the California Highway Patrol report attrition rates for females which are similar to those of the R.C.M.P.

With regard to commitment in general, respondents were asked if they expected to be police officers ten years from now. Eighty-two and one-half percent of the men and 57.5 percent of the women replied that they intended to stay in police work that long. The main reason the males mentioned for staying in the job was their job satisfaction, while for women it was their commitment to the job. Respondents were also asked if they would keep working if they suddenly inherited enough money to live comfortably. A higher proportion of women said they would keep working (85.0 percent vs. 77.5 percent) and of those, 80 percent of the females and 65.0 percent of the males said they would remain with the police department. A study of attrition among female members is being carried out at the present time which looks at reasons for their high attrition rate. While this issue will be dealt with in more detail when that analysis is complete, career commitment[2] is an area which will be of some concern to the force.

Style of Policing

While many people, particularly police officers, have been critical of the trend toward expanding the role of the female police, other observers have welcomed such a move. They have suggested that women will bring a new dimension to policing. Women are assumed to be less agressive and "more likely to rely on their tact and ingenuity in confrontations. They can cool, defuse, and de-escalate many heated situations" (Bouza, 1975:7). Some, like Sherman (1973), feel that this will have a profound impact on police departments. He suggests that

women will precipitate less violence because their pattern of interaction with citizens will be different from that of male officers. This reduction in the amount of violence involving the police will, in turn, improve the image the public has of the police. Sherman suggests that men will learn that they can accomplish their goals more effectively by reducing the amount of violence which they use, and that this will lead to a change in the style of policing used by men.

The hope, then, is that the assignment of women to patrol duties will alter the image of the 'tough cop' and make the image more of a social service one. Not everyone sees this as a positive step. For instance, many male officers feel that this represents a degradation of the traditionally masculine image of policing which they feel is necessary if they are to be effective. The question of which style is better is still an open one, but we can look at the available evidence to see if the style of policing adopted by women is different from that used by men.

The Washington study was the first to look at differences in styles of policing. On the whole, the similarities between men and women in this study were more apparent that the differences. For example, the women got about the same results when handling angry or violent citizens as did the males. Also, both groups showed similar levels of respect and similar general attitudes toward civilians. The major difference between the two groups was that women were less likely to make arrests and to give traffic citations. While there

were too few violent incidents involving officers of either sex to make any firm conclusions, Bloch and Anderson do suggest that increasing the number of women in a department may change its style of policing. They conclude that "The presence of women may stimulate increased attention to ways of avoiding violence and cooling violent situations without resorting to the use of force" (1974:4).

The second study which dealt with this issue was Sherman's research on St. Louis County police. As was the case with the Washington study, no firm conclusions could be drawn about how females would deal with violence because of the scarcity of such incidents. However, Sherman felt that women may be more effective in reducing violence because of their ability to prevent potentially threatening situations from escalating. Some further support for this was found in the New York study conducted by the Urban Institute. In this study it was found that while officers of both sexes began encounters with civilians in a similar fashion, the men were more likely to become aggressive during the course of the encounter than were the women, who were more likely to adopt a cordial manner. During these encounters, civilians tended to act in a friendlier fashion toward the female officers (reported in Sichel, et al., 1978). On the other hand, the Denver researchers found no difference in the effect which male and female officers had on the attitudes of either spectators or the citizens involved in observed incidents, nor on the levels of violence and tension at an incident.

Because of the large number of incidents which their research team was able to observe, Sichel and her colleagues have provided us with the best data available on this issue. In contrast to the studies discussed earlier, their research did "not support the proposition that female officers are more likely than male officers to be a calming influence of distraught citizens" (1978:43), although they did find that citizens felt the women were more competent, respectful and pleasant than the males. As noted earlier, the control-seeking techniques used by males and females were almost identical, and no differences were observed in the likelihood of using physical contact to gain control of a situation. While the women were less likely to make arrests and to seek control, these differences were not great enough to suggest that significant differences in policing style would result from the employment of more female officers.

We can also look at the R.C.M.P. data to look at the perceptions of male and female officers concerning their styles of policing. When asked if the two sexes have different styles of policing 70 percent of the men and only one-third of the women replied that they thought styles were different. Most females feel that they perform their work in the same fashion as males. The officers who felt that styles were different generally responded that men were more agressive, decisive, and physical while women were more patient, communicated more effectively with the public, and were more likely to resolve an issue by talking rather than by taking physical action.

In a related question, respondents were also asked if they felt that either males or females were particularly good at handling certain types of calls. Eighty-two percent of the males and 40.0 percent of the females felt that women were particularly good at some types of calls. The most common types of calls at which women were felt to be better were those traditionally associated with female officers; dealing with victims of sex offences and with juveniles, and family disputes, although a small number of males and females felt that women were good at handling physical calls. Eighty-nine percent of the males and 35.0 percent of the females felt that male officers were particularly good at some types of calls. As would be expected, most of the respondents felt that men were best at dealing with calls requiring the use of strength or force.

Another aspect of style of policing which was included in the survey was that of the officers' perceptions of who typically took charge when a male/female team was answering a call. Thirty-six percent of the men and 25 percent of the women felt that male officers usually took charge while the remainder felt that both sexes took charge equally, depending on the division of labor that had been worked out between the partners.

Finally, the females and matched males were asked a number of attitudinal questions concerning police work. The assumption that women would prefer more of a social service orientation in police work was tested by asking respondents if they felt that police work should have

more of a law enforcement orientation or more of a social service orientation than it does now. The differences between male and female officers, which are shown in Table 6-4 are very small. For the most part, men and women seem to feel the same about the appropriate emphasis for police work.

TABLE 6-4

Response of Male and Female Members to a Question Concerning the Appropriate Orientation for a Police Department

	More Social Service - Oriented	About Right At This Time	More Law Enforcement - Oriented
Males	7.5 (3)	57.5 (23)	35.0 (14)
Females	8.8 (3)	64.7 (22)	26.5 (9)

The results of this study and of other research on female officers does not lend much support to the view that women and men approach police work in a markedly different fashion. This should not really be surprising because, even if women do bring different characteristics to the job (which may or may not be the case), they must work in a system which is completely run by males. They are trained by males, work almost exclusively with males, and are assessed by males.

Female officers are all well aware of their minority status and the majority feel they must keep a low profile and not try to fight the system. This is not to suggest that women are only behaving like the men because they feel they have to. The data suggest that they perform in the same fashion as men because they feel that is the way police work should be done.

FOOTNOTES

1. While the female officers do appear to have relatively high morale, an interesting comparison can be made with the Vancouver Police Department. While responses of males in the two forces were almost identical, Vancouver P.D. females were much more positive than R.C.M.P. females. Eighty-two percent of the Vancouver females liked police work "very much" compared with 56 percent of the R.C.M.P. females. Differences between the two forces were not as great for other morale items.

2. Respondents were also asked about the importance of being promoted and about the rank to which they aspired. The aspirations of the women were lower than those of the males and women were less likely to state that the possibility of promotion was important to them (92.5 percent for males and 58.8 percent for females). This difference may be due to the fact that no females have sufficient seniority to be eligible for promotion, so promotion has not yet become a salient issue.

CHAPTER 7

ATTITUDES OF SUPERVISORS

Generally, the attitudes of supervisors toward female officers have been more favorable than the attitudes of the rank and file. This is reflected in the relatively favorable performance assessments which women have received in most of the departments studied. The attitudes of supervisors were most thoroughly studied by Bloch and Anderson. Police officials in Washington, D.C. were more likely than patrolmen to feel that women were as effective as men on patrol duties, though there was agreement with the male officers that women could not deal as well with violent situations. Further, while the attitudes of patrolmen toward patrolwomen did not change over the course of the research, the attitudes of police officials did become more favorable over time.

In the Vancouver study, all of the supervisors who had female officers working for them were interviewed. These interviews were done with 18 Corporals, 12 Sergeants, 3 Staff Sergeants and 2 Inspectors. In addition, each of these supervisors was given a questionnaire which was to be completed and returned by mail. Thirty-one of 35 questionnaires were returned, giving a response rate of 89 percent.

Abilities of Female Members

Generally, the responses of supervisors were positive. Three sets of questions on the interview looked at the supervisors' overall assessment of female officers. Respondents were asked how they initially expected women to perform when they were assigned to patrol duties and were also asked how their actual performance had been. The data in Table 7-1 show that the initial expectations were relatively low. Only 25.7 percent felt that the women would perform well, while another 57.1 percent had mixed feelings about the policy. Most were not very enthusiastic about the new policy of hiring women and felt the force had been pressured into it by outside groups. Their assessment of how the women had performed was somewhat more positive (Table 7-2). Seventy-three percent judged the womens' performance as good or very good, while only two of the supervisors said they had done poorly. Further indication of their positive views toward female officers can be found in Tables 7-3 and 7-4. Table 7-3 shows that 85.3 percent feel that it is a good idea to have women performing general patrol duties, with 8.8 percent neutral and 5.9 percent negative toward the assignment of women to patrol duties. In Table 7-4 responses to the question of whether or not they would like to have more female officers working for them are shown. All of the supervisors would be willing to have more women under their supervision. While several supervisors were not enthusiastic about the idea, even these respondents felt that it would be useful to have 10 percent of a squad made up of females. Thirty-nine percent said they would be willing to have a squad that was

TABLE 7-1

Supervisors' Initial Expectations Concerning the Performance of Women Assigned to Patrol Duties (In Percent)

Favorable	Mixed or Neutral	Unfavorable
25.7	57.1	17.1
(9)	(20)	(6)

TABLE 7-2

Supervisors' Assessments of the Performance of Women Assigned to Patrol Duties (In Percent)

Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
33.3	39.4	6.1	6.1
(11)	(13)	(2)	(2)

TABLE 7-3

Supervisors' Response to Question of Whether or Not They Feel it is a Good Idea to have Women as a Regular Part of the Patrol Force

(In Percent)

Yes	Neutral	No
85.3	8.8	5.9
(29)	(3)	(2)

TABLE 7-4

Supervisors' Response to Question of Whether or Not They Would Like to Have More Female Members Working for them

(In Percent)

No	Up to 10%	11-20%	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	50%	No Limit	More (Percent Not Specified)
0.0	19.4	22.6	12.9	0.0	0.0	16.1	22.6	6.5
	(6)	(7)	(4)			(5)	(7)	(2)

made up of fifty percent or more females. Several of these respondents said that they would welcome the challenge of working with an all-female team and felt that the results would surprise many people who weren't aware of the capabilities of female officers.

As a final indication of the supervisors' overall evaluation of female officers, each was asked to list the qualities that they felt a good police officer must have[1] and then was asked to assess the extent to which these qualities were met by male and female officers. Responses to this question are shown in Table 7-5. Most of the supervisors felt that males and females met these criteria to the same extent. Of those who did see a difference 27.2 percent rated males more highly and 9.1 percent rated females more highly.

The evidence, then, suggests that most of those who supervise female officers have a relatively favorable opinion of their work. Supervisors rate the womens' performance as having been satisfactory despite some initial pessimism about their ability to handle patrol duties; supervisors feel that having women doing general patrol is a good idea; most would be willing to have additional women assigned to them; and women officers are seen to posess the qualities that are necessary to be an effective general duty officer.

TABLE 7-5

Supervisors' Assessment of the Extent to which Male and Female Officers Possess the Qualties of a Good Police Officer

(In Percent)

Females Possess Qualities to a Greater Extent than Males	Males and Females Possess Qualities to Same Extent	Males Possess Qualitie to a Greater Extent th Females
9.1	63.6	27.3
(2)	(14)	(6)

Supervisory Problems

Despite the apparent acceptance of female patrol officers by supervisors, the literature leaves little doubt that the increased number of women in police ranks has created some problems. For example, many male supervisors have had little experience with women subordinates and do not feel comfortable working with them. As a result, the literature reflects an uncertainty as to how to deal with women. Some supervisors have been accused of favoring women, or of allowing women to manipulate them. On the other hand, there has been ample documentation that supervisors have often discriminated against women, particularly with regard to the type of assignments given.

Several questions were asked to see if supervisors felt that the deployment of females to patrol duties had created problems for them. First of all, they were asked if they needed to use different

supervisory styles for male and female officers. The results, which are shown in Table 7-6, indicate that most did not feel it necessary to use different supervisory styles with females. The differences which did exist typically involved dissimilarities in disciplining males and females and in assigning calls. The only other major area of difference arose from respondents who felt that they had to use a different demeanor with females.

TABLE 7-6

Supervisors' Responses to Questions Concerning the Necessity of Using Different Styles of Supervising Males and Females

(In Percent)

Yes	Usually the Same	No
11.4 (4)	51.4 (18)	37.1 (13)

TABLE 7-7

Supervisors' Responses to Question of Whether Men or Women Gave them the Most Supervisory Problems

(In Percent)

Men More Problems	Women More Problems	Neither More Problems
15.6 (5)	9.4 (3)	75.0 (24)

Respondents were also asked whether men or women gave them more problems. The results of this question are shown in Table 7-7. While the majority felt that neither sex caused them more difficulties, 15.6 percent reported that men caused more problems and only 9.4 percent reported that women caused more problems. Those who had the most trouble with male officers said that the maintenance of standards gave them the most difficulty. Men had problems with dress and deportment, being on time for work, and other disciplinary matters. The problem most often mentioned concerning female officers was that they made management more complex since supervisors now had a new variable - the officer's sex - to deal with.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thirty different qualities were suggested. Listed in order, those most commonly mentioned were: practical intelligence; integrity; maturity; worldliness or experience; perserverance; interpersonal sensitivity; hard worker and self-discipline; personal impact; reliability; broadmindedness or tolerance; and patience.

CHAPTER 8

FIELD OBSERVATION

Because of financial and time constraints, a field observation component was not planned as part of this study. However, as we began out data collection we decided that we needed to do some rather extensive ride-along in order to get a better view of the operation of the two forces we were studying, and particularly to get some first-hand experience with female police officers. It was decided that we would also use this opportunity to try to systematically collect some observational data concerning the manner in which male and female officers performed their duties. Working in the evenings and on weekends, we did 89 hours of ride-along with the R.C.M.P. in Burnaby, Richmond, North Vancouver and White Rock and observed 53 incidents involving interaction between police and citizens.

In this section, the results of the observational research will be discussed. However, one must use caution in the weight which is given to these findings. First of all, the amount of observation was quite limited. The relatively small number of incidents per hour and the tremendous variety of those incidents mean that insufficient numbers of most types of occurrences are available for comparative analysis. For instance, the most extensive observational study ever done with

female police officers was carried out in New York City by Sichel et al. (1978). The researchers had initially planned to look at the performance of males and females in violent or potentially violent situations, since this is the aspect of policing in which women are judged most negatively by male officers. Despite the fact that they carried out 3625 hours of ride-along, they did not observe a sufficient number of incidents of this nature to do an adequate analysis.

Another problem relates to the fact that our selection of officers with whom to ride was not done systematically. Since the observation had a lower priority than our other data collection work, it had to be fit into any spare hours we had available. We were not able to observe all female officers, nor could we match males and females in terms of district, experience, etc. It is not likely, however, that our sample of observed officers was deliberately biased by such things as being assigned only to the best (or worst) officers. Particularly with females or male-female teams, we often rode with the only female officer on duty in the district at the time.

Finally, an observational study requires careful training and supervision of observers in order to ensure that the data are complete and that different observers are recording their data in the same way. For example, in the study of women in the Philadelphia Police Department conducted by Bartell Associates (n.d.), two weeks were spent training observers. Because of other data collection tasks, this type of training and careful monitoring of data quality could not be done in the present study.

Given these weaknesses, the question might be raised as to why report on the observational phase of the research at all. The major reason is that if the limitations are recognized, 89 hours of observation gives a substantial amount of information concerning the performance of female officers. Further, we can have more confidence in the findings if they are consistent with previous research and with the findings from other parts of the present study.

Previous Research

The first major study of female officers was done in Washington D.C. by Bloch and Anderson (1974). As part of this study, observers accompanied male and female officers on 193 complete tours of duty. They found that women and men performed patrol work in the same manner. The situations they handled were comparable and both sexes handled difficult calls involving violent or angry citizens equally well. No critical incidents were observed or reported which were handled in such a manner as to suggest that women couldn't cope with the demands of patrol work. Women were as likely as men to "take charge" in an incident, and back-up was more often sent to single or two-men units than to units with a single man or with a male/female team.

In one of the most thorough evaluations available of women in policing, Sichel and her colleagues compared the patrol performance of 41 female officers on the New York City Police Department with the performance of a matched group of 41 male officers. Matching was carried

out by length of time on the force, patrol experience, and type of precinct. The principal method used in the study was observation by police and civilian personnel. During the course of this study, there was direct observation of 3625 hours of patrol during which 2400 police-civilian encounters were recorded. Also, the researchers interviewed a number of civilians who were involved in incidents not observed by the research team.

As mentioned above, the researchers initially planned to look at the performance of males and females in violent or potentially violent situations. For a number of reasons, among them the rare nature of such incidents, they decided to focus instead on control-seeking behavior by officers in police-civilian encounters.

The major finding of the study was the that the performance of male and female officers was similar. Contrary to expectations, both sexes used the same style of patrol. The same control-seeking techniques were used and both sexes were equally likely to use force, to display a weapon, or to give a direct order to a civilian. There were some differences, but these were small. Females were found to be less assertive and less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior. They were less likely to be recorded as arresting officers and were less involved in strenuous activity. They also took more sick time. However, females were rated as being more competent and more respectful by citizens who had been involved in encounters with the police. Further, those citizens who had had contact with female officers had more positive attitudes toward the Police Department in general than did those

who had contact with male officers. These differences in citizen satisfaction were somewhat unexpected, since the observational data had indicated that there were few differences in what the officers did on a call. Males and females were equally likely to engage in "service" types of activities. The researchers suggest that the more favorable attitudes toward females may have been due either to the fact that females were more likely to offer comfort or sympathy to civilians or to the fact that they were less likely than males to try to seek control on calls.

The final study to be discussed here is the Philadelphia study (Bartell Associates, 1979). The major part of the study consisted of extensive observation conducted by carefully trained observers. Subjects consisted of 100 male and 100 female officers who were hired and trained at the same time and who were assigned to the same police districts. The observers were asked to rate the performance of the females and comparison males on behaviorally-anchored rating scales of seventeen different critical incidents. Each evaluator reviewed each recruit at least once and usually twice over the nine-month observational period. A total of over 3,000 incidents were observed and rated by the evaluators. The results of this observational study are summarized as follows: "It is therefore concluded that, as rated by male evaluators, there is no difference in the performance of male and female recruits; and, as rated by female evaluators, there is no difference in performance on eight of the incidents while females perform better on three of the incidents and males perform better on one incident" (1979:114). The

researchers also compared mean rating values for males and females across all 17 incidents and found no difference for ratings of male evaluators while female evaluators rated female recruits significantly higher than male recruits.

R.C.M.P. Results

Observation was carried out in four detachments. The number of police-citizen contacts observed in each detachment was as follows:

Detachment	Number of Incidents
Richmond	9
Burnaby	21
North Vancouver	11
White Rock	12

The number of incidents observed in each type of unit was:

Type of Unit	Number of Incidents
one - man	23
one - woman	30

Type of Incidents

One of the findings of the Washington study was that women were somewhat less aggressive than men in carrying out such duties as

making officer-initiated car stops (Bloch and Anderson, 1974). Table 8-1 shows the percentage of officer-initiated incidents in each type of unit. The proportion of incidents which were officer-initiated are greater for males than for females, but one should be cautious about the weight one puts on this table because of the very small number of incietns observed.

TABLE 8-1

Percent of Incidents which were Officer-Initiated
Controlling for Type of Unit

	Who Initiated Contact		
Type of Unit	Dispatcher	Citizen	Officer 1
1 Man	4.3 (1)	0.0	95.7 (22)
1 Woman	30.0 (9)	3.3 (1)	66.7 (20)

We can also look at the types of incidents handled by males and females to see if any major differences exist in this area. While the percentages in Table 8-2 are somewhat unstable due to the relatively small number of cases, they do suggest that males and females are handling similar types of calls.

Table 8-2

Nature of Incident by Type of Unit
(in percent)

	1-Man	1-Woman
Argument in or Around Residence	0.0	3.4 (1)
Major Disturbance Outside of Residence	0.0	3.4 (1)
Intoxicated Person	13.0 (3)	3.4 (1)
Disorderly Person	17.4 (4)	17.2 (5)
Fire or Natural Disaster	0.0	3.4 (1)
Stolen or Damaged Automobile	0.0	3.4 (1)
Traffic or Parking Violation	21.7 (5)	20.7 (6)
Nuisance or Noise	0.0	3.4 (1)
Citizen Requests Assistance	4.3 (1)	6.9 (2)
Unspecified with Indication of Crime	39.1 (9)	13.8 (4)
No Answer or False Alarm	0.0	3.4 (1)
Assist Another Unit	0.0	3.4 (1)
Drug Case	0.0	3.4 (1)
Other	4.3 (1)	10.3 (3)

Success of Control Techniques

As in the New York study, we looked at control techniques which were used by police officers in dealing with incidents. These control techniques range from persuasion to rough force. While we observed five different types of control techniques, there were insufficient cases of most to allow for male-female comparisons. In all cases observed, both male and female officers were successful in achieving their control objectives. Again, it should be noted that most of the observed incidents were of a minor nature.

Citizen Attitudes Toward Police

Tables 8-3 and 8-4 indicate the degree of friendliness and respect shown by citizens toward the police. These tables show the attitudes of civilians who have been contacted or stopped by the police, including complainants, witnesses or suspects, as well as anyone else who is involved in the incident. The reaction of citizens is more positive toward female officers than it is toward males. Citizens were both more friendly and more respectful toward female officers than they were toward males.

Table 8-3

Citizen Attitudes Toward Male and Female Officers
(in percent)

	Very Friendly	Friendly	Neutral	Hostile
Female Officers	39.5 (15)	23.7 (9)	21.1 (8)	15.8 (6)
Male Officers	18.4 (9)	26.5 (13)	38.8 (19)	16.3 (8)

Table 8-3

Respect Shown by Citizens Toward Male and Female Police Officers
(in percent)

	Very Respectful	Slightly Respectful	Neutral	Slightly Disrespectful	Very Disrespectful
Female Officers	42.1 (16)	23.7 (9)	21.1 (8)	7.9 (3)	5.3 (2)
Male Officers	7.3 (3)	41.4 (17)	39.0 (16)	12.2 (5)	0.0 (0)

Police Attitudes Toward Citizens

Tables 8-5 and 8-6 show the degree to which the police exhibit friendly attitudes toward citizens and the effect that the police officer has on the citizens s/he has dealt with. Neither of these tables show substantial differences between male and female officers. The more favorable attitudes of citizens toward females do not appear to be the result of more positive attitudes of female officers toward citizens.

Table 8-5

Police Attitudes Toward Citizens
(in percent)

	Very Friendly	Slightly Friendly	Neutral	Slightly Hostile	Hostile
Female Officers	51.4 (19)	24.3 (9)	18.9 (7)	0.0 (0)	5.4 (2)
Male Officers	40.8 (20)	44.9 (22)	6.1 (3)	8.2 (4)	0.0 (0)

Table 3-6

Effect of Police on Citizens
(in percent)

	Very Positive	Slightly Positive	Neutral	Negative
Female Officers	43.2 (16)	21.6 (8)	35.1 (13)	0.0 (0)
Male Officers	38.8 (19)	40.8 (20)	14.3 (7)	6.1 (3)

Summary

It was found that males and females performed patrol duties in a similar fashion. Male and female officers used similar control-seeking techniques and had similar results. Citizens were more respectful and friendlier toward females. Again it must be noted that the observational research was limited in scope and one must be cautious in interpreting the findings.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY

The data collected in this study are generally consistent with the findings of previous research carried out in the U.S. The general conclusion is that women can competently carry out general patrol duties and that their performance is, in most respects, very similar to that of male officers. The major findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. The number of women in Canadian police departments has been growing over the past 10 years and is likely to keep expanding in the future.
2. Supervisors' evaluations of the male and female officers were virtually identical.
3. Male officers were more likely than females to have traffic accidents. More of the accidents of female officers were caused by carelessness, but the differences were not great.
4. Females have an attrition rate which is about double that for males.
5. Interviews with dispatchers indicated that there was little difference in their dispatch practices when female officers were on duty.

6. Analysis of dispatch records supported the interview data. There is little difference in the seriousness of calls to which males and females are dispatched and both sexes are about equally likely to receive back-up.
7. A significant proportion of male officers have negative attitudes toward female officers and particularly toward the policy of assigning females to general patrol duties. Many of the men do not feel that women are physically equipped to handle the demands of policing.
8. Female officers have a much more favorable view of their performance than do the males.
9. Both male and female officers reported a high level of job satisfaction, though the reasons given were somewhat different.
10. The women and men had the same level of morale, though many of the women felt they had to work harder than males in order to have their accomplishments recognized.
11. Men reported a higher level of career commitment than women.
12. Attitudinal items indicate that men and women have similar views about the style with which police work is to be carried out.
13. Supervisors had more favorable attitudes toward female officers than did the rank and file. Supervisors rate the womens' performance as being satisfactory, feel that women should be carrying out general patrol duties and would be willing to have more females working for them. There is virtually no indication that women are considered to create more supervisory problems than males.

14. A limited field observation study showed little difference between the performance of males and females. Citizens responded more favorably toward female officers.

As has been the case in previous studies, the most striking finding is that despite the apparent similarity in the abilities and styles of male and female officers, the assignment of women to patrol duties is still resisted and resented by many male officers. They particularly object to the perceived inability of females to handle calls requiring strength or physical force, though many feel that women are not competent to handle other aspects of police work as well.

It is possible that the men are right, and that the research which has been done has simply failed to tap the subtle differences between male and female officers that make men capable of performing more effectively. However, given the volume of research which has been carried out, this does not seem plausible. For instance, if we look at all the research which has been done in the area of women in policing, we find that almost 15,000 person-hours of observation has been carried out; several thousand interviews have been done and the records of over one-half dozen police departments have been searched. In addition, extensive interviewing has been carried out with the general public, with community leaders, and with those who have dealt with female officers. While some differences have been found in this research, the general conclusion has been that women are capable of

carrying out patrol duties. In addition, supervisors and males who have worked with female officers have typically expressed positive attitudes toward the females' performance.

If we accept the research results as being valid, then we must still explain the source of the resistance of male officers toward women police. Kizziah and Morris (1977) have suggested that male officers have developed an understanding of police work which stresses characteristically male traits such as strength, aggressiveness and independence. There is a feeling that policing is a male preserve and that policing is a world in which there is little or no place for women. While some observers have said that women represent a threat to the "macho" image that males have of police work, this is likely an oversimplification. Some men simply do not feel that women are capable of doing police work.

Policing has been an almost exclusively male domain ever since the establishment of the first modern police department in London in 1829. Since men have been performing capably as police officers since that time, the feeling exists that there is no real need to change. Women are seen as having been imposed on police departments by outside forces, and are not seen as having been brought into general police work because they can add something to the job. The typical male officer has not seen any need to change the status quo, since he and his peers have been able to do the work adequately without any help or interference from women. To him, the introduction of women means his

working environment has become more complicated, he is afraid that his workload may increase if women cannot handle their share of the load, he no longer has as much faith in the ability of potential back-up units, the image of the job has been diminished, and his wife is upset because he might have to spend time working with female officers. From this perspective his dissatisfaction is understandable.

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